1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

000 gave much time and effort to forward the program. Dr. Alfonso Caso discussed many problems and gave valuable advice. Numerous members of the staff of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional also gave of their time. President Robert G. Sproul of the University of California, arranged a special leave of absence to make the study possible. Above all, thanks are due to Dr. D. F. Rubín de la Borbolla, then head of the Department of Anthropology of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional and now director of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, collaborator in the general program, who gave many days of his time in completing necessary arrangements to make the study possible.

In addition to the persons mentioned, I wish also to express my gratitude to those who have helped further the general Program of Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans: General Lázaro Cárdenas, former President of the United States of Mexico; Dr. A. L. Kroeber, of the University of California, Berkeley,
[continued on top of p. 5b]

THE SETTING AND THE PEOPLE

131 The modern Tarascans occupy the west central section of northern Michoacán, Mexico. In prehistoric times the Tarascan area was larger, including most of the State of Michoacán, except possibly the rather abrupt and not very hospitable seacoast, as well as parts of the State of Jalisco to the northwest, Guanajuato to the northeast, and the lower end of the Balsas River basin in Guerrero to the south. This expanded area apparently represented the results of a series of conquests. Two or three centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Tarascan area probably was not greatly different from that of today.

16 The State of Michoacán is one of the most densely populated rural States of Mexico. It lies to the west of Mexico City, and its capital, Morelia, is about 250 miles from the National Capital by road or railroad. Despite its dense population, much of the State is rugged and mountainous. Its eastern and northern parts
133 are on the plateau of México. Level areas are often above 7,000 feet elevation, but, although it is technically a part of the Central Mexican plateau, only the northern margins of the State
[continued in middle of p. 4b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

The general situation of the *municipio* has already been discussed in the first section of this paper. That discussion and maps 1, 2, and 3 indicate the main features, and no further amplification seems necessary.

The *municipio* has fairly well defined boundaries, although there are usually disputes with neighboring communities. Thus Cherán currently has disputes with Cheranástico and Arantepacua. The boundaries are marked in various ways. In the cultivated areas the boundaries are marked with stone walls. Where water courses form the boundaries, no markers are placed, but in the woods, a strip 4 or 5 meters wide is cleared along the boundary. This is done by communal labor, and when the line needs clearing again an assembly is called and a day fixed for the work. Every male is supposed to go. The Municipal Representative (described later) is supposed to lead the party.

THE TOWN AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS

Cherán is a compact and essentially urban settlement with a population of about 5,000. Few North Americans, unfamiliar with the concentrated settlement forms of Mexican towns, would imagine it contained anything like this population. There are no suburbs and very little straggling out of houses from the main center. Around the outskirts the lots are a little bigger and the density of population is less but the transition from town to open fields is nevertheless abrupt.

The layout of the town is undistinguished. A central plaza with a fountain, *portales* or sidewalks covered with arches about it, the municipal building, school, priest's residence, and church may be duplicated in hundreds of Mexican towns. The plaza is not today the center of the settlement geographically. Undoubtedly the town has grown since the time of its founding, and because of the deep *barranca* to the north, expansion has been in the other directions, leaving the plaza north of the present center of town by two or three blocks.

Radiating from the plaza is a network of streets laid out in a rectangular grid which makes only minimal concessions to the irregularities of the terrain. The enclosed blocks or *manzanas* are utilized as administrative divi-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.93a]

THE POPULATION

161 The total population of Cherán in 1940 was about 5,000 as indicated by voting lists. Data from other censuses follow:

1900	4,395
1910	3,908
1920	3,552
1930	Not available

162 Information concerning the age composition of the Cherán population is limited. The only source of adequate information is provided by the voting lists for the 1940 election for two *barrios* and interviews. This information applies only to men of voting age. A summary of this information is given in table 10. The

TABLE 10.—*Age and occupational distribution of Cherán males*

Age and occupation and other classifications	Distribution of males in barrio—				
	I (partial)	II (partial)	III	IV	Total
Age group:					
16–30 (17–30 for barrio III)	29	18	62	86	193
31–40	24	13	85	35	157
41–50	17	14	62	53	146
51–60	15	10	27	18	70
61–70	7	13	28	14	62
71–80	7	0	0	0	7
Age not listed	3	6	5	1	14
Total	101	73	267	227	647
Unmarried	3	6	2	0	11
[212] Able to read	25	40	51	30	146
Occupation:					
[463] Agriculturalist	72	47	124	63	307
Laborer	6	5	119	133	263
Merchant (traders and storekeepers)	10	5	7	1	23
Hatmaker		2		1	3
Mason	1		3	2	6
Carpenter	3	2	3	3	10
Barber	1	2			3
Musician	1	1	2		4
Maestro	1				1
Shoemaker		1	6	1	8
Tilemaker			1		1
Various or none given	4	7	2	3	16

data on ages is probably more reliable than that from most primitive groups but still is not completely accurate. An analysis of the original data shows that a very great majority of the ages given end in "0" or "5," clearly indicating that they are guesses. Interviews showed the presence of a tendency to increase the ages of young men, and a decrease in the ages of elderly men is suspected.

162 217 Additional incomplete but interesting data on the population are provided by the study of

[633] evangelist of the Tarascans, was much influenced by Sir Thomas More's Utopia. The Utopian cities were divided into four divisions which served administrative purposes (Zavala, 1937; More, 1923, p. 84).

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 7a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro
[P. 6 contains no text]

I

INTRODUCTION

131 The Tarascans are one of the principal Indian groups on the central plateau of [161] Mexico, numbering around 55,000 in 1940. They occupy the central region of the State of Michoacan, mainly in the Lake Pátzcuaro area and the Sierra west of it. 621 They live in sixty-six villages *(pueblos)*[1] [101] and a number of dependent hamlets *(ranchos)* amidst similar settlements of mestizo Spanish-speaking people.[2]

171 Except for language, the differences be-178 tween the Tarascans and the nearby rural mestizos are not very great from either the cultural or any other point of view. Four centuries of living together with and under people of European culture (Spanish colonial or modern Mexican) have made the Tarascans considerably interdependent with Mexican national life, and their culture, if analyzed in traits and institutions, might show more of a Spanish than an Indian heritage. The loss of Tarascan speech and consciousness is only one more step in the process of greater integration and acculturation into the Mexican nation, and many of the mestizo villages near the Tarascans have undergone this transformation only recently.

This interrelation with the rest of the nation is seen not only in the content of their culture but also in their participation in the social and political conflicts of Mexico.

668 National issues which have agitated Mexico in later years have their local manifestation in Tarascan towns. Conflicts around land and church rage in many Tarascan villages.

While the basic issues of landownership arise out of local conditions, the local groups fighting those issues are connected with national political groups. *Agraristas* (peasants claiming or receiving lands under the agrarian laws emanating from the Revolution) are found in many villages. Lately the Catholic nationalistic movement of the *sinarquistas* has found strong support among the Tarascans. Their different allegiances make for opposition or [609] support of the national and state governments and local agencies, influencing the

1. The terms village and town are used indistinctively throughout this paper to translate the Spanish pueblo.
2 West, 1948, 1.

191 The present territory of Tarascan speech con-
131 sists of a relatively small area (about 3,500 sq. km.) in northwestern Michoacán. Approximately, the modern area extends eastward from the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad to the east shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and southward from the México-Guadalajara highway to a line drawn between Pátzcuaro and the peak of Tancítaro (map 1).[1] A few small islands of Tarascan-speaking folk exist south of the main area. Within the present
[161] area nearly 55,000 individuals of indigenous speech live in 66 Tarascan pueblos and 50 ranchos.

131 Four geographical regions comprise the modern
101 Tarascan area. (1) The Sierra (called by the Tarascans Sierra or Siéríi) is the largest of the regions, the main portion of which extends westward from Lake Pátzcuaro to slightly east of the Zamora-Los Reyes railroad.[1a] The northern

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[1] Map 1 is based on an enlarged portion of sheet 94SA (Uruapan) of the AAF Preliminary Base, 1:500,000. This sheet was compiled by the U. S. Aeronautical Chart Service in January 1945 from AAF trimetrogon photography taken in December 1942. Positions and names of topographic features which appear on the accompanying map were checked on the ground during the spring of 1946. Some errors were encountered on the original map: misnamed localities (e. g. Ajuno), small errors in routes of highways and railroads, mistakes in elevations. Drainage was found to be fairly correct. On map 1 only the more important trails are indicated. Numbered localities refer to the following ranchos:

1. Guarachanillo.	14. San Marcos Arahéndeo.	27. Pitambiaho.
2. Aranza.	15. Huancito.	28. Ojo de Agua.
3. Las Trojes.	16. Las Cocinas.	29. Ichupio.
4. Las Cañas.	17. San Nicolás.	30. Turerio.
5. El Venado.	18. La Alberca.	31. Uoncandeteuru.
6. Tupan.	19. La Atzumada.	32. La Vinata.
7. Tierras Blancas.	20. El Rosario.	33. Las Granadas.
8. La Mata.	21. El Tepemal.	34. Yuruaho.
9. La Tinaja.	22. Tapatzio.	35. Tacuaro.
10. Querendaro.	23. Tejamanil.	36. Urandén Marián.
11. Zaraimora.	24. Pacápatiro.	37. Urandén Marián.
12. San Luis Sevana.	25. Chupícuaro.	38. Urandén Curian.
13. La Jolla.	26. Oponguio.	39. El Padre.

The following Tarascan ranchos (listed in the official 1945 census) are not located: Trintaicha (municipio of Chilchota); Agua Escondida (municipio of Tangancícuaro); Las Encinillas and Las Lauretas (municipio of Tangamandapio); La Providencia and El Tropezón (municipio of Los Reyes); El Tejocote (municipio of Paracho); Revolcadero (municipio of Erongarícuaro); and Itziparámeos (municipio of Tzintzuntzan).

[1a] On modern maps the high area west of Lake Pátzcuaro is termed "Sierra de los Tarascos." In colonial documents the area was usually called "Sierra de Michoacán."

134 material and essential chemical elements, most
[241] of these soils are cropped annually without fallow. A peculiar soil type, called *uirds*, occurs near the edge of a lava flow on the southwestern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, on Jarácuaro Island, and near Ihuatzio. The subsoil is a fibery-textured white clay (35.4 percent fine clay), from which the whitish-gray adobe bricks of Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio are made; the topsoil, when mixed with lacustrine deposits (as on Jarácuaro Island), forms a fertile loam extremely high in organic matter (nearly 5 percent) and calcium carbonate (7.7 percent). On the other hand, when the parent material lies close to the surface (as around Arócutin), the *uirds* is one of the poorest soils in the vicinity.[16]

[16] A similar soil type occurs at the edge of a lava flow along the highway on the outskirts of Zacapu. The relation between vulcanism and the formation of *uirds* is not clear.

TARASCAN POPULATION

191 three inclusions of Matlaltzinca or Pirinda (Otomí
563 stock): (1) the largest, near present Morelia, from Undameo northeast to Charo, (2) at Taimeo, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, and (3) at Huetamo near the Balsas.[17] Moreover, a group of Apaneca colonists lived at Guayameo, near Sirándaro on the Balsas, and an islet of Teco occurred between Tancítaro and Uruapan.[18]

161 Various factors contributed to the areal retrogression of Tarascans during the Spanish colonial and postcolonial periods. One factor was actual decrease of Indian population caused mainly by European diseases. The population of some
[167] areas was further weakened or depleted by migration of Tarascans as laborers to distant mining and agricultural centers. Moreover, Spanish and mulatto settlement within the indigenous area was a powerful force of hispanicization; wherever stock-raising estancias or sugar haciendas were established, native speech slowly disappeared. Conversely, in those areas shunned
[A1] by Spanish settlers, Tarascan has been preserved to this day.

177 The most serious shock which the indigenous
164 cultures suffered from Spanish contact was the
161 frightful toll taken by the contagious European diseases that became epidemic throughout central

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 12-b — Anal. Mex.]

[17] Data obtained from the following Relaciones Geográficas in Mss. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Necotlán and Rel. de Cuseo; Mss. Nac., leg. 98, Rel. de Charo Matlatzinco.

[18] Mss. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Sirándaro y Guayameo; Paso Relación, 1872, vol. 1, p. 131; Mss. Nac., Col. de Gómez Orozco, vol. 1, Rel. de Tancítaro.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 12-b]

161 New Spain 1 year after the coming of Cortés.
164 Thereafter epidemics occurred periodically during
177 the colonial period, completely obliterating the population of some districts, especially those in the low, hot lands. Smallpox, measles, and probably typhus (teréékua) were the most common killers. Mendizábal (1939) has estimated that in the first century of Spanish occupation the Indians of New Spain were reduced to 25 percent of their pre-Conquest numbers, and that the pre-Spanish population of the diocese of Michoacán was possibly 200,000, which was reduced to some 92,000 by 1550.[19] Judging from the accounts in the Relaciones Geográficas of 1579–81, the basins of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec suffered the most heavily. There from one-third to all of the inhabitants of some villages were destroyed. Accounts of the 16th and 17th centuries mention scores of villages in the Tarascan area which are now nonexistent, the inhabi-

[19] Mendizábal made this calculation from figures given in the Suma de Visitas, ca. 1540 (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1).

4: West K-5 (1948) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 12-C]

161
177 tants having been wiped out entirely, or the few
[164] survivors having migrated later to larger towns.

Spanish exploitation and settlement in Michoacán slowly effected the reduction of Tarascan speech. Guzman's *entrada* (1530) left a trail of destruction and displacement of population throughout northern Michoacán. Moreover, dur-
[648] ing the exploitation of placer gold along the tributaries of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec (1524–35) Spanish miners destroyed and dislocated many Tarascans through enslavement and overwork.[20]

797 On the other hand, Franciscan and Augustinian
177 missionaries, who by the end of the 16th century
191 had established themselves in most of the large Tarascan pueblos, were strong agents of acculturation, replacing many indigenous material and

[20] The Indice de Protocolos, vol. 1 (ed. Millares Carlo and Mantecón), gives abundant evidence of the feverish gold panning operations in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec drainage from 1534 to 1538 and cites the wholesale use of Indian slave labor. Such activity probably continued until the enforcement (in the 1540's) of the New Laws, which forbade slave labor and consequently decreased the profitableness of gold washing. Furthermore, many Spanish adventurers turned from gold panning to silver mining after the discoveries in the Taxco district during the 1530's.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 13a]

[P. 22-a]

161

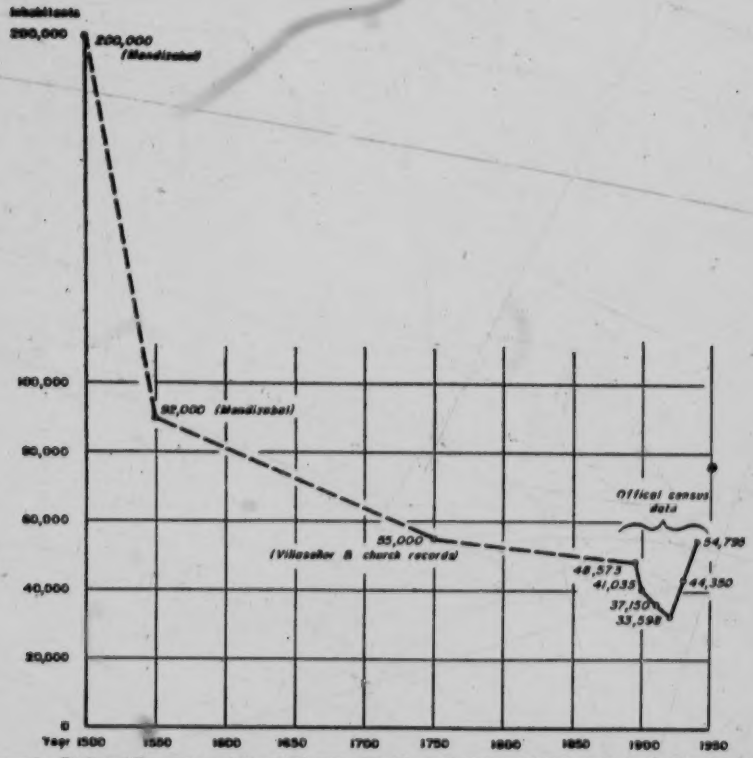

FIGURE 1.—Decline of Tarascan population, 1500–1940. The figures for 1500 and 1550 include all aboriginal inhabitants in the diocese of Michoacán. Besides the Tarascans, several thousand Otomí and some Huastec inhabited the eastern and northeastern sections of the diocese (Guanajuato and San Luis Potosí), and many people of Nahuatl speech lived in the western portion (Colima, southwest Michoacán).

[P 23-9]

161

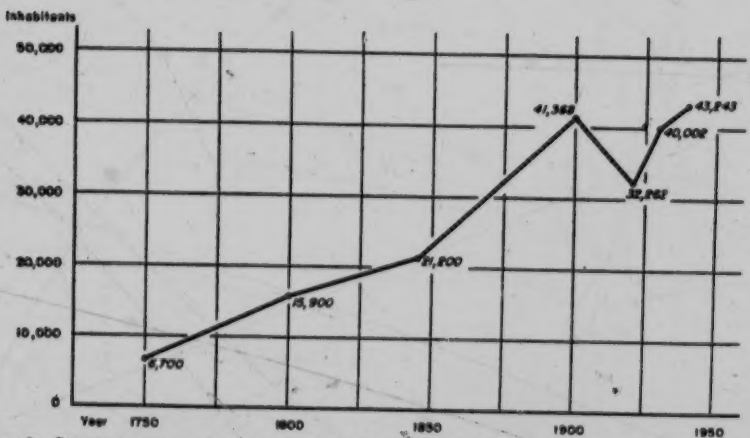

FIGURE 2.—Growth of population in the Sierra, 1750–1940. The population of the following towns and ranchos was used to calculate totals for the years indicated: Ahuiran, Angahuan, Arantepacua, Aranza, Atapan, La Cantera, Cherán, Cheranásticurin, Cherato, Cocucho, Corupo, Cumachuén, Charapan, Capacuaro, Huiramangaro, Nahuatzen, Nurio, Ocumicho, Pamatácuaro, Paracho, Parangaricutiro, Paricutin, Patamban, Pichátaro, Pomacuarán, Quinceo, San Felipe, San José, San Lorenzo, Sevina, Sicuicho, Sirio, Tanaco, Tarecuato, Tengucho, Turícuaro, Urapicho, Zacán, Zirosto, San Benito, San Luis, La Tinaja, El Tropezón, Uringuitiro, Zarzamora. Data for 1750 were taken from Villaseñor and church records (AAM); for 1800, from church records (AAM); for 1845, from AAM, leg. 707, Memorias estadísticas; for 1900, 1921, 1930, 1940, from official census.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 23-b]

166 731 called Colonia Dr. Miguel Silva (Villa Silva), was founded by volcano refugees in August 1943, 5 km. southwest of Ario de Rosales, on the upper margins of the *tierra caliente*. The settlement sheltered families mainly from Zirosto and some from Parícutin, Parangaricutiro, and Zacan.[a] [182] The highland Tarascans have encountered several difficulties in the subtropical habitat: increased susceptibility to disease, unfamiliarity with subtropical clay soils, slow adaptation to new crop types. Consequently, within the last year (1945-46) [161] the population of Villa Silva has decreased from approximately 600 to 300, owing to high death rate and movement of families back to the highlands; the new settlement may be abandoned within a short time. Besides resettlement in newly formed pueblos, many of the families from the stricken area have moved permanently to less damaged towns, such as Pamatácuaro, Charapan, Paracho, Uruapan, and Zamora.

[a] The continued activity of the volcano may force the complete abandonment of the partially ruined towns of Zacan and Zirosto. In the spring of 1946 the authorities of Zirosto were seriously considering the removal of the remnants of their townspeople to the ranchs of Barranca Seca, 4 km. to the northwest.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 23-c]

●161 191 **Possible future trends in Tarascan population.**—Judging from the long-range trend in both areal recession and actual numerical decrease in Tarascan-speaking folk, it would appear that the Tarascan language is headed toward extinction. Figure 1 indicates the terrific human toll taken by the European epidemics during the first 50 years of Spanish occupation, and the leveling off of the downward curve [21] until after 1920, when increases are reported by the 1930 and 1940 censuses. In the period 1930–40 the rate of increase in Tarascan population equaled that of the mestizo element. This period of increase is too short to conclude

[21] At the end of the 18th century, decrease in Tarascan population was still outstanding enough to be reported officially to the central government in Mexico City. Commenting on the population increase in the diocese of Michoacán from 1700 to 1782, an official reports: "*Hay el considerable numero de 88,449 almas . . . pero debe advertirse que este supuso los noticias comunicadas por los subdelegados, é informes recividos en el acuerdo, en de expedales, malezas, y demas causas, pues en la de los Indios se experimenta mucha decadencia o disminución originada en unas pueblos de la merida de estos con distintas calidades; en otros de las grandes y continuas enfermedades, que han padecido; en otros de las pensiones, que sorgen trasportables a su felicidad, quando se sacio el numero de los obligados a ellas; y en otros finalmente a la escasez de tierras para su precios subsistencia, sobre lo qual para no confundir el citado antecedente se acompaño uno, que manifiesta los Pueblos, a quienes faltan mas de 600 varas, que por cada viento las exigen la ley . . .*". (AGN Historia, vol. 73, exped. 1 (1782)).

that a new upward trend has been established. On the other hand, there has been a considerable increase in the population of the Sierra and Lake towns since 1750, which probably accounts for the level curve during the 19th century, in spite of drastic areal recession in speech during that period (fig. 2). Today areal recession is still in progress, but actual numbers of Tarascans appear to be increasing. The question is: Can the growth in number of Tarascan-speaking children continue to exceed or equal that of the children (of Tarascan speaking parents) who fail to learn the language or cease to use it in later life? Assuming equal rates of infant mortality and similar health facilities for both groups, it would appear that, owing to cultural changes now in progress within the Tarascan area, the indigenous speech will eventually dis-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 24b—ANALYST]

TARASCAN SETTLEMENTS

The early Spanish adventurers and friars found Tarascans living (like many sedentary Indians of the New World) in agglomerated settlements, the larger of which the Spaniards called pueblos, the smaller, *rancherías* or *estancias*. The pueblo and the *ranchería* (*rancho*) have remained the basic units of settlement in the Tarascan area, as in most parts of Mexico.[2] In size present Tarascan pueblos range from 200 to 3,400 inhabitants; the ranchos, from 9 to 900. Invariably the modern indigenous ranchos are offspring settlements from a pueblo nearby. For instance, the 11 ranchos on the southern and eastern slopes of Cerro de Patamban were formed by families, which for political or economic (land) reasons, left the mother pueblo, Pamatácuaro. Sirío, a former *rancho* of Pamatácuaro, was made a pueblo and *tenencia* ca. 1926, its name being changed to Jesús Díaz. By such a process agglomerated settlements begin and develop. Moreover, the *ranchos* on the Tarí-uk'éri Peninsula, Lake Pátzcuaro, were founded 50 or 60 years ago by fisher-

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 24b—ANALYST]

[2] Although in general these two types of settlement are differentiated by size, the terms "pueblo" and "rancho" have acquired political connotations. From the point of view of State and Federal Governments the basic political unit in Mexico is the municipio, which may contain many pueblos and ranchos. Usually the largest pueblo within this political unit is named the *cabecera*, or chief administrative town. The affairs of the *cabecera* and those of the municipio as a whole are administered by a *presidente* or mayor. The remaining pueblos in the municipio are regarded as *tenencias*, each headed by a *jefe*. The ranchos are dependencies of certain pueblos, local authority being vested in the *diputado de orden*. Upon obtaining sufficient size, prestige, or political influence, a pueblo may be elevated to the rank of *villa* or even *ciudad*. Because of historical prestige small (1,077 mestizo inhabitants) Tzintzuntzan holds the title of *ciudad*. Such rank, however, in no way changes the political function of the town.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 24-b]

161 appear. Such cultural changes—improved transportation, more frequent contact with modern life, increased educational facilities both within the pueblos and in the large towns outside, the Government alphabetization program—all aid to increase the use of Spanish and to decrease the use of Tarascan. Such factors influence especially the younger generation. Today the young people (5 to 20 years old) of many pueblos have not learned Tarascan, and often those who know the language speak Spanish by preference. Moreover, as indicated above, mestizo merchants are still moving into the Tarascan market towns and in such centers intermarriage of Indian and mestizo continues; the offspring of such unions rarely learn the indigenous tongue.

TARASCAN SETTLEMENTS

men from adjacent islands of Janitzio and Lo Pacanda. On the other hand, the mestizo *ranchos* now found in the Sierra are the product of migration of farmers and political refugees from the outside. One of these, Arato, was established soon after the struggle for independence in 1810, and in the 1930's was given the title of pueblo with *tenencia* status.

Other types of settlement in modern Tarasca include the lumber camp (*aserradero*), an ephemeral agglomeration of workmen's huts around the sawmill. Such settlements disappear after surrounding exploitable timber has been depleted. In 1946 there were but three lumber camps in the entire Sierra. In addition, a minor form of dispersed settlement is sometimes found in the Sierra; occasionally a woodcutter and his family live permanently in an isolated house on a forested mountain slope and visit the nearest pueblo only to market products, buy supplies, and attend fiestas.

Settlement sites.—The few available early descriptions of the Tarascan area indicate the existence of many more Indian settlements during the 16th century than at present.[23] This was particularly true in the Sierra, where small agglomerations (*estancias* or *rancherías*) were numerous. Such settlements were scattered on

[23] The early sources which mention former settlements in the Tarascan area include the available Relaciones Geográficas, 1579-81 (Mss. Nac., leg. 102); various late 16th-century documents concerning labor and associated problems in Zavala and Castello (1939-46); many documents concerning the congregations of 1595-1605 found in AGN Congregaciones and Tierras.